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KAMPAL 07134 01 OF 02 181324Z PAGE 01 ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 C-01 OASY-00 DODE-00 EUR-01 HA-09 INRE-00 INR-01 L-03 ADS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 H-01 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-02 PRS-01 P-01 SNP-00 SP-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 T-01 USIE-00 RPE-00 /024W

\_\_\_\_\_87E5AA 181324Z /38

P 181315Z DEC 92

FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4860

INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BONN

USDAO LILONGWE MI

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GM

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 KAMPALA 07134

AF/E FOR CHRIS WILSON AND AF/C FOR CAROL FULLER

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: PINR, PGOV, RW, UG

SUBJECT: RPF'S RUDASINGWA TALKS WITH AMBASSADOR

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KAMPAL 07134 01 OF 02 181324Z PAGE 02 REF: KAMPALA 6401

- 1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. SUMMARY: RPF NEGOTIATOR DR. THEOGEN RUDASINGWA, WHO IS EN ROUTE TO WASHINGTON TO MEET WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN, MET WITH THE AMBASSADOR FOR AN HOUR ON DECEMBER 17. RUDASINGWA SAW "LITTLE GROUND FOR OPTIMISM" IN THE PEACE PROCESS, CITING THREE AREAS OF CONCERN: GOR VIOLENCE AGAINST CIVILIANS, LACK OF PROGRESS AT ARUSHA, AND PROVOCATIONS BY THE FAR AND

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FRENCH TROOPS. THE AMBASSADOR ENCOURAGED RUDASINGWA TO RAISE THESE POINTS WITH THE JOINT POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMISSION, AND SAID THAT IN LIGHT OF GOR DIFFICULTIES, THE RPF SHOULD BE PATIENT AND AVOID PUTTING ANY NEW OBSTACLES IN THE PATH OF A SETTLEMENT. THE AMBASSADOR CONCLUDED BY STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RPF CONTINUING TO ADHERE TO THE CEASEFIRE AND TO THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATING PROCESS. END SUMMARY

- 3. DR. THEOGEN RUDASINGWA, RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT NEGOTIATOR AT THE ARUSHA TALKS, MET WITH THE AMBASSADOR AT THE RESIDENCE FOR AN HOUR ON DECEMBER 17. DR. EMMANUEL NDIHIRO OF THE RPF AND POLOFF ALSO SAT IN ON THE DISCUSSION. RUDASINGWA WAS ON HIS WAY TO WASHINGTON, WHERE HE AND RPF CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE ARE SCHEDULED TO MEET WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN ON DECEMBER 22.
- 4. RUDASINGWA TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT THE RPF WAS DISCOURAGED BY THE DEVELOPMENTS OF RECENT WEEKS, SAYING CONFIDENTIAL

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- PAGE 03 KAMPAL 07134 01 OF 02 181324Z
  THAT MOST OF ITS MISGIVINGS FOLLOWING ARUSHA IV HAD
  BEEN BORN OUT. IT WAS "NOW CLEAR THAT HABYARIMANA IS
  STALLING" BY DEMANDING 45 PERCENT OF CABINET SEATS,
  INSISTING ON "CONSENSUS" DECISION-MAKING TO PRESERVE
  HIS VETO, PRESSING FOR A SHORT TRANSITION PERIOD, AND
  SAYING THAT ALL PARTIES MUST BE REPRESENTED IN THE
  TRANSITIONAL ASSEMBLY. RUDASINGWA SAW HABYARIMANA
  "NEGATING" THE PROGRESS THAT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN
  NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH ARUSHA IV.
- 5. HABYARIMANA'S STALLING WAS EVIDENT IN THREE AREAS, SAID RUDASINGWA. THE VIOLENCE IN KIGALI AND RURAL PARTS OF RWANDA WOULD SERVE TO PERPETUATE THE PRESIDENT'S POWER, AND WERE A GRAVE HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERN TO THE RPF; THE GOVERNMENT'S AGENDA-HOPPING TACTICS AT ARUSHA WERE TRANSPARENTLY DESIGNED TO PREVENT PROGRESS; AND "PROVOCATIONS" BY FAR AND FRENCH TROOPS WERE INCREASINGLY TAXING THE RPF'S PATIENCE. ON THE LAST POINT, DR. NDAHIRO POINTED OUT THAT SINCE HE HAD LAST SPOKEN TO THE AMBASSADOR (REFTEL), THE PROVOCATIONS HAD INCREASED, WITH FAR REINFORCEMENTS BEING SENT FORWARD, POSITIONS CONTINUING TO BE UPGRADED, AND THE NUMBER OF FRENCH TROOPS IN RWANDA INCREASING.

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6. THE AMBASSADOR AGREED THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS HAD REACHED A DIFFICULT STAGE, AS HABYARIMANA FELT CORNERED AND COMPELLED TO DEFEND HIS PREROGATIVES. BUT THE "SOURCE OF THE PROBLEM WAS CLEAR" TO MOST OBSERVERS, HE SAID, AND THE RPF HAD NOTHING TO GAIN BY DIVERTING ATTENTION FROM THE DISCORD IN KIGALI BY BREAKING THE CONFIDENTIAL

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KAMPAL 07134 01 OF 02 181324Z PAGE 04 CEASEFIRE OR WALKING AWAY FROM THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS IN ARUSHA. THE AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT THE RPF HAD LITTLE REASON TO QUARREL WITH THE EFFORTS OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES IN GOVERNMENT, OR WITH RWANDA'S PRIME MINISTER OR FOREIGN MINISTER. MOREOVER, EVEN IF THE RPF THOUGHT IT HAD A MILITARY ADVANTAGE, ITS OUTRIGHT CAPTURE OF KIGALI WOULD BE ONLY A PYRRHIC VICTORY, AS IT WOULD INFLAME ETHNIC FEARS AND UNDERMINE THE RPF'S LEGITMACY. HE STRONGLY ADVISED THE RPF TO STAY AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE AND NOT TO RESUME FIGHTING, AS EITHER ACTION WOULD DESTROY THE CREDIBILITY OF THE RPF AND PLAY INTO HABYARIMANA'S

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# **UNCLASSIFIED**

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7. RUDASINGWA HAD TWO QUESTIONS ABOUT U.S. POLICY, WHICH HE SAID HE HAD SO FAR FAILED TO HAVE CLARIFIED. ONE, WHAT IS WASHINGTON'S VIEW ON THE ACTIVITIES OF FRENCH TROOPS IN RWANDA? TWO, WILL THE U.S. INSIST ON THE OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY THE GOR? THE AMBASSADOR ASSURED HIM ON THE SECOND POINT THAT WE HAD MADE OUR CONCERN FOR THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF RWANDA ABUNDANTLY CLEAR TO THE GOVERNMENT. HE REMINDED RUDASINGWA THAT THE FRENCH REMAINED, IN OUR VIEW, THE "LEAD ELEMENT" IN PUSHING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION, AND THAT WE WERE COORDINATING WITH THE FRENCH ON DEALING WITH THE GOR. HE ADVISED THE RPF TO RAISE ANY PARTICULAR COMPLAINTS IT HAD ABOUT FRENCH ACTIVITIES WITH THE JPMC.

CARSON